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ABSTRACT

Analyzing the components of "successful" migration, this paper presents arguments based upon data derived from personal interviews and observations of French-Canadian and Cree Indian migrants living in a northern Quebec mining town. A comparison is made in terms of distance of place of origin and length of time in town for two French-Canadian migrants' folk taxonomies (taxonomies were derived from a respondent elicited domain of terms). Analyzing the changes necessary for commitment to a permanent townsman identity, this comparison elucidates the problems inherent in a French-Canadian's inability to distinguish place of origin from the mining town and to relinquish old ties over a relatively short period of time. Citing the literature of acculturation, migration, and evolving social structure (Canada's industrial north), this paper suggests that the American Indian's lack of commitment to a townsman identity is grounded in his relationship with the land (a respect for the land that is not region specific nor significantly different in town) and a racism which implies that townsman identity is white identity. It is concluded that a particular acculturative experience wherein a migrant embraces a new identity based on identification with the town exclusive of prior identification is essential for developing the kind of commitment necessary for successful migration. (JC)

Migration, Acculturation, and Migrants' "Ethno-sociology"

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ABSTRACT

There is general agreement in the literature on migration that 'successful' migration requires on the part of the migrant the learning of new roles and rules governing interaction. A study of French-Canadian and Cree Indian migrants to a northern town in Québec suggests that successful migrants come to adopt a distinctive northerner identity. Research on migrants' folk-taxonomies of people and on their interactive patterns reveal changes of emphasis of certain social distinctions and changes in the symbolic meaning of certain behavioural patterns. These changes are analysed in terms of what new social knowledge a migrant must acquire and employ in social encounters in becoming a northern townsman. Conclusions are compared with the literature dealing with acculturation, migration, and the evolving social structure of industrial northern towns.

Migration, Acculturation, and Migrants' "Ethno-sociology"

Migration has long been understood to involve an acculturative change for the individual migrant who moves from one settlement to another. Minimally, the migrant comes to internalize new geographical knowledge, to perform new occupational roles, and to recognize behavioural rules relevant to situational contexts, institutional structures, and social distinctions that are all new to him. A migrant may also have to acquire a taste for foods he has never tasted before, to assume articles of clothing he has never worn before, and master a language he has never spoken before. In these respects, migration to town from rural areas differs little from other forms of migration: international, regional, intra-regional, or intercity.

Particularly where trends in migration coincide with public policy, it is desired that migration will be "successful". In creating new towns, as well as in labour migration, international immigration, and modernization schemes, it is important that migrants come to form a stable population of settlers (or stable temporary labour force) by becoming committed to living in their new home. This paper will consider the

acculturative processes by which migrants develop a commitment to living in a mining town in north-central Quebec (cf. Gutkind 1968, Jansen 1969, Price 1969). The data upon which my arguments are based were collected by observation and by formal interviews in the field with migrants and settlers in the town.

The research was designed with a psychological anthropological perspective in mind, and data collection focused on such psychological issues as social identity, self-concept, and ethno-sociology -- the folk-taxonomies of kinds of people that are part of an informant's cognitive make-up. An ethno-sociological approach allows one to discover -- through the construction of informants' folk-taxonomies of people -- what emically defined social identities are conceptionally and socially significant for the informants. Ethno-sociological data reveal to us the identity relationships that the informant finds important, by which he understands what goes on in his social world, and in terms of which his own interactions are structured (Stewart 1972). Ethnoscientific methods were employed to collect the data. A domain of terms was elicited in a formal, controlled interview; informants sorted index cards upon which the terms had been written according to "groupings" or "collections" that they felt were appropriate;

each term was compared with every other term to determine terms' mutual compatibility, equivalence, and differing generality of meaning.

As the approach in this paper is psychological, "acculturation" is used here in its psychological aspect: not a change in either of two cultures resulting from contact between members of each culture, but a change in the cultural material carried in an individual's mind resulting from his contact with persons from a different culture. As a migrant comes to internalize new understandings of an ethno-sociological nature, he necessarily acquires new social identities, some more pervasive than others (Stewart 1972). Acculturation, then, and particularly where a personal psychological commitment is developed, is associated with a change in the migrant's identity -- in the ways he defines himself.

In the literature on migration, commitment is not usually explicitly defined, but is treated as an aspect of integration, assimilation, or modernization.[1] However, implicit in the discussion of commitment there is a psychological "involvement", a certain attitudinal structure, and an internalization of a new status system, all of which serve to psychologically anchor the migrant on a permanent basis into the recipient social

order. On an ethno-sociological level, bases for distinguishing among types of people, one's understanding and definition of self, and the perspective by which the environment is understood will change as the migrant develops commitment to his new home. The migrant's transformation is also presumed to be irrevocable, in the sense that an immigrant committed to a new milieu cannot go back to his place of origin the same person he was when he left.

For commitment to develop, then -- and for migration to a northern town to be "successful" -- migrants must come to adopt an identity that is sufficiently distinctive from their prior identities while at the same time locally well developed and symbolically and institutionally supported. Yet, on the other hand, the new identity cannot be so different that it cannot be integrated into the migrant's deeper organized personality. These issues are central to and developed more carefully in the author's Ph.D. dissertation (Stewart 1975). Time limitations make necessary a more superficial treatment in this paper, and only two cases from a larger sample will be presented and discussed today. (In concluding it will be possible to mention briefly the findings for other informants in the sample).

"Normand Bouchard" and "Jean Tremblay" are two foremen in the mines working for one of the companies in town. Normand Bouchard has lived in town for only six months and comes from Abitibi (see map), an adjacent region in north-central Québec. Jean Tremblay has lived in town for 18 years and is originally from the Eastern Townships, a region in southern Québec. Following six hours of interviewing for each informant, taxonomic orderings for the terms elicited were constructed on the basis of relative distributions of mutual compatibility among terms and the informants' own trial sortings. Normand Bouchard's and Jean Tremblay's taxonomies differ structurally in several respects, related both to length of residence in the town and to their different regions of origin (see Tables 1 & 2).

What is of primary importance in the analysis of an informant's taxonomy are the structural principles according to which social distinctions at a lower, more particular level are ordered. In M. Bouchard's taxonomy, focal distinctions involve distinctions among terms for different mining personnel, distinctions between primary-relation terms and other terms, and distinctions between Abitibiens and people from other regions. Furthermore, with the exception of people from

Lac St-Jean, there is no distinction made between Abitibiens and the townspeople. And when asked what kinds of people he had met since moving to town and what kinds of people he has come to know better since moving to town, M. Bouchard listed three terms for different kinds of co-workers at the mine in town, but also: old friends from Abitibi who had also moved to town, a superintendant from an Abitibi mine who had recently moved to town, and even old friends from Abitibi who remained in Abitibi. M. Bouchard defines the town chiefly in qualitative terms -- as nice but remote, and as having lots of work but also a housing shortage; there is a lot of drinking in the hotels, but in that respect the town resembles towns in Abitibi. M. Bouchard defines himself only as a miner. Most of his interactions are restricted to six persons with whom he works in direct contact in the mines, along with his family and the friends he knew before moving to town.

In M. Tremblay's taxonomy, an insider-outsider distinction is prominent, within which may be discerned a reflection of Québec's "colonialized" structure. A secondary focus is on distinctive kinds of people, exceptional in terms of personal character values, which are related in turn to an image of the townspeople locally held and to particular "pioneer"

virtues. Data from an earlier interview with this informant stressed mining and recreational factors more strongly; since then, M. Tremblay's involvement in recreational associations has made him more a spokesman than participant, and have brought him into contact with more people "high up the social ladder". Half of M. Tremblay's definitions for the town stress its youth, future, and good qualities (he has lived in town for most of its life and likes being a founding "pillar" in the community); the other half stress the hardships of life in the town and extol its wilderness setting. He defines himself roughly as a pioneer: independent, hard-working, willing to endure hardships but not to sacrifice everything to get ahead -- he makes no direct reference to his status as a miner or foreman. His interactions are with members of his team at work, with other foremen and miners who used to work for him, his family, and people he deals with within the context of his recreational interests.

Some of the differences between Normand Bouchard and Jean Tremblay are the result of their differing length of residence in town. Over time, a migrant comes to depend less on old friends, neighbours, and co-workers as he comes into contact with different kinds of people and his social world

expands (Stewart 1972); presumably M. Bouchard will also come to depend less on these "ready-made significant others" as he spends more time in town. However, miners -- forming a special clique or fraternity in town, that possesses its own internal status hierarchy, distinctive values, and supportive institutions -- take a bit longer to integrate themselves fully into the town. Their central identity remains for some time exclusively that of miner rather than resident of the town (Stewart 1972; cf. Frankenburg 1966, Thielbar 1970).[2]

The informants also differ in that for Normand Bouchard a central distinction is between Abitibiens and all other people, whereas for Jean Tremblay comparable distinctions are between the townspeople and outsiders, and between people with a pioneer character and people with a less-valued character. For M. Bouchard the Abitibi-other dichotomy is also found in each of his other sub-domains; as we have seen M. Bouchard does not make a distinction between Abitibiens and the townspeople, and the townspeople, in fact, come to be subsumed under the more general category, Abitibiens. M. Bouchard has not yet embraced an identity as a resident of the town that is in any respect distinguished from his Abitibien identity; data for other miners from Abitibi -- who have resided in town

much longer -- suggest that M. Bouchard may never come to assume a distinctive resident identity; and in general, migrants from Abitibi fail more often to become settlers in the town than do migrants from other regions in Québec. In addition, of migrants who "fail" and leave town after a varying period of residence, most migrants from Abitibi return to Abitibi, while migrants from other regions (e.g., Lac St-Jean, regions in Southern Québec) go on to different regions or to the metropolitan centres in the South (Beaudry 1971).

The town is located where Abitibi and Lac St-Jean regions meet, but in social, cultural and economic terms, the town is located in a separate region, for which the town itself is the metropole. The region is characterized by certain symbolic and institutional features borrowed from both adjacent regions, in addition to distinctive features that have been developed locally. Nonetheless, to an Abitibien, the town is part of Abitibi; local customs and traditions that are distinctively non-Abitibien are viewed as foreign elements imported from other regions (usually from Lac St-Jean). Migrants from other regions find the town completely different and new to them; these migrants are more apt to adopt local perspectives as they adapt to a life-style they view as distinctive. As a

result, migrants from other regions are much more likely to embrace an identity as a townsman that is distinctive from their prior identities; consequently these migrants from other regions are more likely to develop a commitment to settling permanently, irrevocably, in town. For the whites, then, some migrants to town fail to adopt a distinctive local identity because they do not distinguish the town from towns to be found in their region of origin. This conclusion is supported also by less formal interview data, not directly considered in this paper.

For the Cree Indian migrants to the town, the problem is a bit more complicated. Though it is possible to be a townsman and not at the same time be white, for other residents -- the whites -- it is implicitly accepted that townsmen all are white. Indian townsmen are for them rare exceptions -- if they are viewed as townsmen at all rather than as visitors from the near-by reserve -- and Indian townsmen only exceptionally escape the negative racial stereotypes common in town. In terms of migration, four different types of Indians are to be found in town (Stewart 1973, 1975; see Table 3).

Indian women who have married whites may repudiate their Indianness -- as that is defined by Indians -- and integrate

into the town's white community; Indians who have acquired numerous claims to a white identity and renounced claims to an Indian identity may be accepted as whites in certain situations, depending upon the rigidity of racial categories that the other townspeople maintain. Such persons are likely to become settlers if their identities become anchored to the town or to specific permanent residents of the town (cf. Berreman 1964). Most Indians, however, will be defined as Indian and treated as Indians, and only exceptionally as residents of the town. It is due to such pressures as these that Indian migrants to the town will in general resist complete assimilation into the local community; they become instead townsmen that differ from other townsmen to be found in town (cf. Hellmann 1935, Mayer 1961, Mitchell 1966, Cohen 1969, Wallerstein 1960). Symbolic anchors for a distinctive Indian identity -- whether novel or traditional -- become significant as Indian migrants defend their positively-valued, distinctive Indian character. In the region we are considering, the symbolic anchor for one's Indianness -- as understood by the Indians themselves -- resides in their traditional relationship to the land and the "bush" (La Rusic 1970, Feit 1971, Usher 1973). Indians with strong claims to an Indian

identity are those that have acquired certain knowledge and skills that permit them to relate in Indian ways to the bush. Those Indians with a weak claim to a townsman identity but strong claims to an Indian identity may visit, but do not migrate to town.

But Indians not claiming a white identity may nonetheless maintain claims to a northern townsman identity, associated with the possession of white occupational and linguistic skills and with a familiarity with and successful participation in an urban society and way of life. Indians with strong claims to both Indian and townsman identities engage in a "qualified migration" to town: migration is on their own terms, and is not necessarily a permanent thing; residence in town is generally continuous, though some bush activities are continued on a seasonal, vacation, or spare-time basis. These individuals desire to integrate into the larger, metropolitan economy, but would rather do so on the reserve (were employment to be provided there) or in yet-to-be-created all-Indian towns in the North. Finally, Indians with weak claims to either a distinctive Indian identity or a northern townsman identity, tend to find success in neither milieu. Lacking skills and knowledge essential in the bush and at the same time lacking

skills and knowledge essential in the town, these migrants alternate between town and reserve (in the north) or between town and "skid row" (in the south) (cf. Salisbury, Filion, Rawji, and Stewart 1972, Sindell 1968, Sindell and Wintrob 1972, Brody 1971).

It is therefore generally difficult for Indian migrants to adopt a townsman identity because of its involvement with a white identity. In addition, the symbolic anchor for Indian identity (the bush) resembles closely if superficially the symbolic anchor for the local townsman identity (the wilderness); the difference -- more significant to Indians than to whites -- resides in the differing uses and respect-based relationships in terms of which the individual relates to the land.

As we have seen, then, certain French-Canadian migrants to town fail to embrace a distinctive local identity since, in their view, the town is not distinguished from their region of origin. Their allegiance to and identification with their region of origin never comes to be replaced by a comparable exclusive personal attachment to the town. Similarly, most Indian migrants to the town retain their original regional identity. They see in the town an alternative phase of

regional life-style that offers certain benefits such as better services and continuous employment. For both groups a distinctive identity does not arise because living in town is not understood to be sufficiently different. For other Indians residing in the region a townsman identity is not achieved because it cannot be integrated into their more traditional sense of identity. A particular acculturative experience -- in which a migrant embraces a new identity based on identification with the town exclusive of prior identification with another locale -- is essential for developing in the migrant a commitment to settling permanently in town.

NOTES

1 In the migration literature, commitment is approached indirectly through its indicators, which include the rise of new networks, increasing migration to urban areas, new sorts of ties to the migrant's rural homeland, and greater residential stability in town. Commitment is hindered by a migrant's insecure position in the new social and economic order, or by his marginality or ethnic affiliation which competes with the new order for his "involvement" (Gutkind 1968, Jansen 1969, Price 1969).

2 This is not to say that miners cannot become townspeople, but rather that people retaining a strong sense of identity as a miner do not at the same time embrace a townsman identity. To be a resident or townsman one must discard the more particular perspective of the miner. Miners' social networks are less open than townsmen's, their taxonomies more rigid, and their personal identities more restricted. Townsmen who are also miners by occupation have more generalized, flexible social taxonomies; they no longer restrict their interaction to current co-workers and family, but interact with merchants, professionals, civil servants, practically everyone in town (Stewart 1972, 1975).

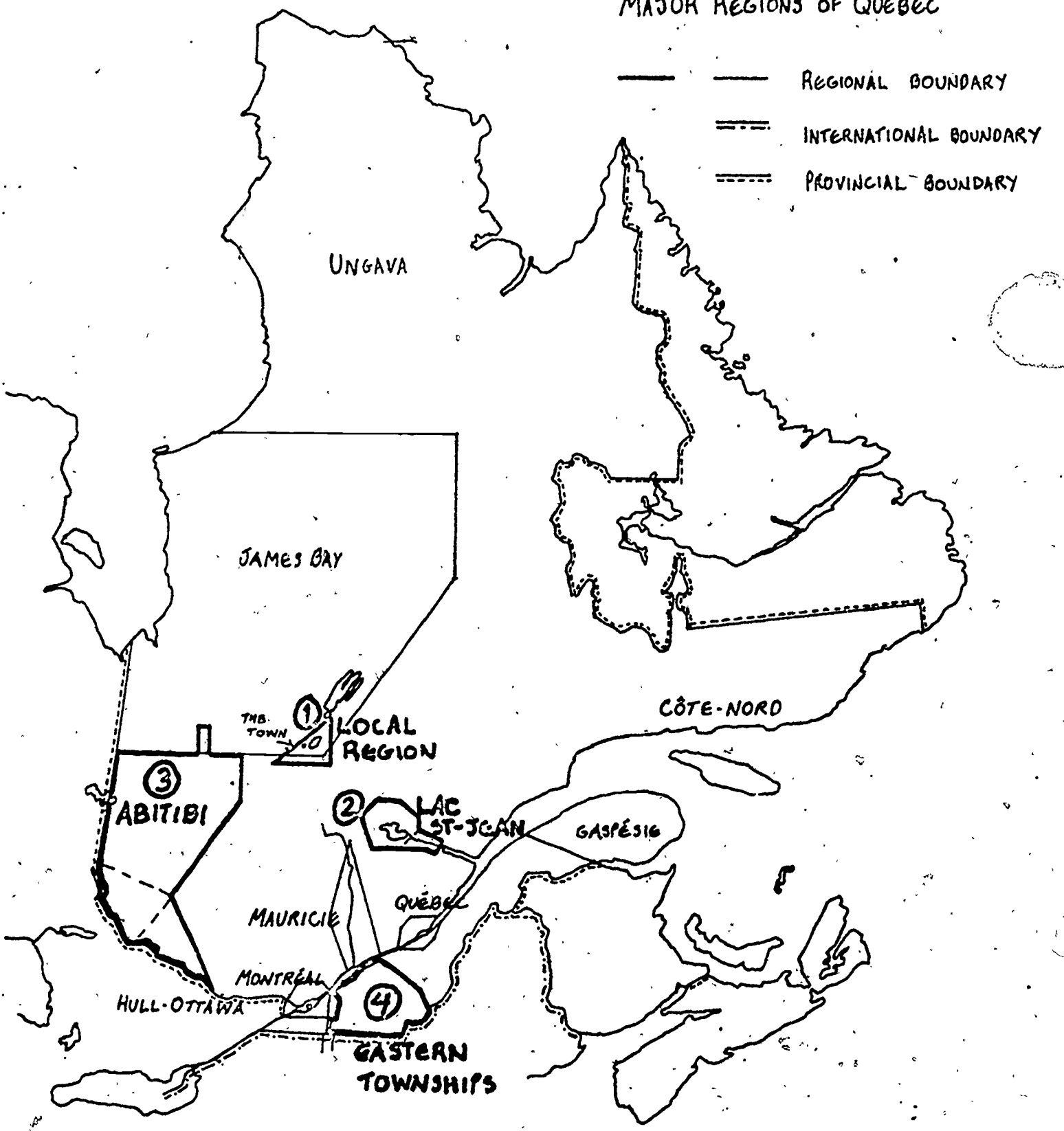

MAJOR REGIONS OF QUÉBEC
REGIONAL BOUNDARY
INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY
PROVINCIAL BOUNDARY
UNGAVA
JAMES BAY
CÔTE-NORD
THE TOWN
1
LOCAL REGION
3
ABITIBI
2
LAC ST-JEAN
GASPÉSIE
MAURICIE
QUÉBEC
MONTRÉAL
HULL-OTTAWA
4
EASTERN TOWNSHIPS

Table 1. Normand Bouchard's Taxonomies.

1A. Regional.

Others / Abitibiens	Gens du Lac St-Jean		6 Gens du Lac St-Jean
			14 Voisin ici du Lac St-Jean
	Beaucoup du monde d'Abitibi		27 Du monde dans la ville
			7 Gens d'Abitibi
			22 Beaucoup du monde d'Abitibi
		Voisins en Abit	17 Surintendant de Val d'Or
			11 Gens de Rouyn
			16 Vieux amis de Rouyn ici
			23 Voisins en Abitibi
			12 Gens des alentours de Hull
			10 Gens des vieilles places

NOTES.

1. Except for people from Lac St-Jean, townspeople are not really distinct from Abitibiens.
2. People indicated in terms 10, 12, 23, 16, 11, 17 and some in terms 22 & 7 were ~~first known in Abitibi~~; others were met only since moving to town

1B. Mining.

Mine workers	not in town	Mineurs		24 Gars de la cie. en Abitibi
			En Abitibi	25 Gars de la cie. en Abitibi venus ici
			Compgns de Trav	8 Gars qui travaillent pour moi
				18 Contre-maîtres à la mine Campbell
				20 Mes compagnons de travail
			Campbell	19 Gars de la mine Campbell
				1 Mineurs
				17 Surintendant de Val d'Or (venu ici)
				26 Gens qui travaillent dans les mines

NOTE. Abitibi acquaintances remain important.

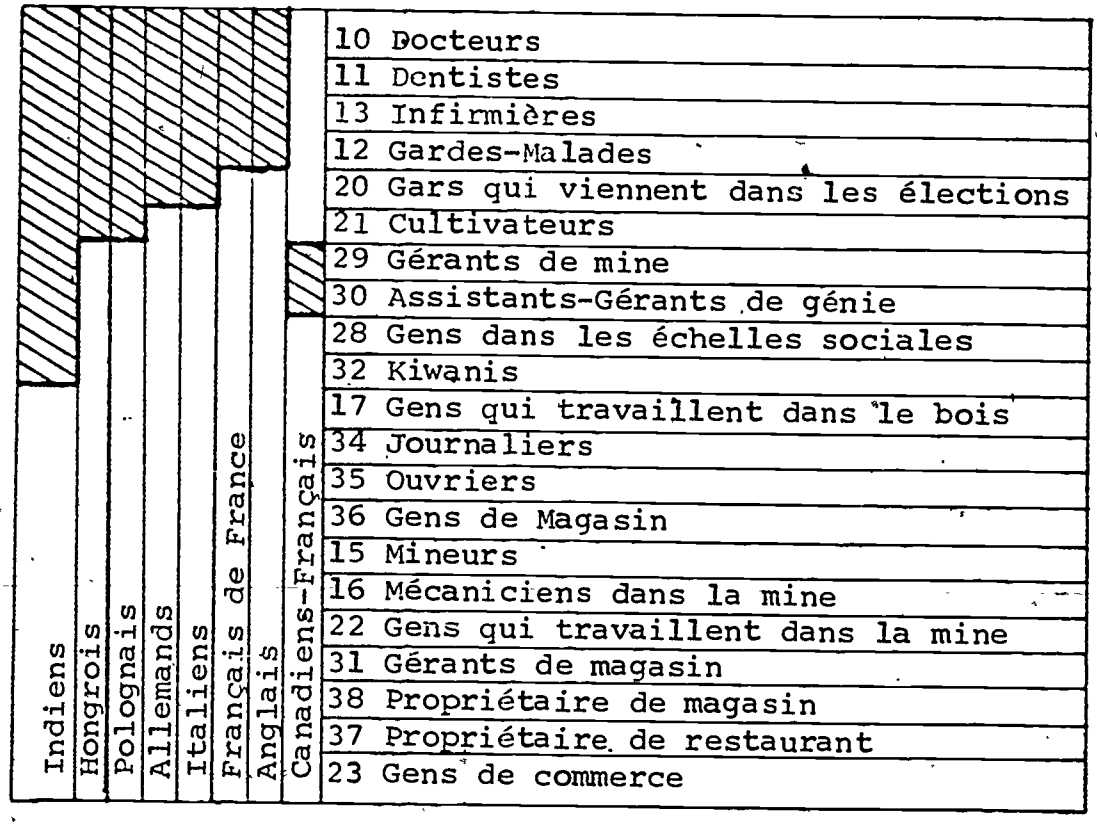
1C. Primary relations.

Met in town	Voisins	32 Voisins ici que je ne connais pas
		14 Voisin ici du Lac St-Jean
		15 Voisin ici qui travaille à Campbell
Met in Abitibi		13 Voisins
		23 Voisins en Abitibi
	Amis	16 Vieux amis de Rouyn ici
		33 Amis d'antan dans la ville
		21 Amis qu'on avait auparavant

NOTE. People from Abitibi remain important.

Table 2: Jean Tremblay's Taxonomies.

2A. Ethnic Stratification.



NOTES.

1. That French-Canadians dominate in the professions and in employment but not in executive positions in the major industry is characteristic of Québec's colonialized social structure (Cf. Hughes 1938, 1943).
2. Political power is understood to be in the hands of ethnic groups constituting the two "founding cultures" of Canada.
3. Most immigrants by assimilating into French-Canadian or English-Canadian society can ascend the social ladder to occupy important occupational positions, subject of course to colonialist barriers discussed in note 1.
4. The Indians are understood to have limited employment opportunities and restricted participation in Euro-Canadian society.

2B. Occupational status.

external ascendancy	high status generally	Prof'ls		10 Docteurs
				11 Dentistes
				13 Infirmières
				12 Gardes-Malades
		Cadres		29 Gérants de mine
				30 Assistants-gérants de génie
				21 Cultivateurs
	low status	Travaillants	non-sk.	17 Gens qui travaillent dans le bois
				34 Journaliers
				35 Ouvriers
				36 Gens de magasin
			sk	15 Mineurs
				16 Mécaniciens dans la mine
				22 Gens qui travaillent dans la mine
local ascendancy	high status locally	gens de commerce		31 Gérants de magasin
				38 Propriétaires de magasin
				37 Propriétaires de restaurant
				23 Gens de commerce

NOTES.
1. Local versus non-local status and ascendancy are distinguished.
2. Local mobility is of two varieties: less skilled workers may through training acquire the skills necessary to move into skilled worker occupations; skilled workers through investment of savings may establish their own businesses to become businessmen.

2C. Personal character and townsmen.

Residents of town	not		5 Des gens tous pareils
	Exceptional	Positive value	3 Des gens indépendants
			7 Gens qui veullent travailler
			2 Gens qui aiment à vivre et qui veullent se laisser vivre
			8 Gens qui veullent vivre
Others		Negative value	9 L'exception qui ne devra pas être ici
			4 Les non-désirables d'antan
			18 Touristes
			6 Les vieux qui se connaîssent tous
			14 Gens qui n'ont jamais vu la ville et pense qu'elle est trop loin pour visiter

NOTE. Townsmen are distinguished from other people.

Table 3. Different types of Cree Indian Migrants.

Claims to Northern Townsman Identity	Claims to Indian Identity: Weak	Claims to Indian Identity: Strong
Strong	Permanent Migration	Qualified Migration
Weak	Cyclic Migration	No Migration

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